

Parallel Prose and Spatiotemporal Freedom: A Case for Creative Syntax in "Wucheng fu"

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Abstract The term *pianwen* 駢文 (parallel prose) comes from the main characteristic of the genre, while its other name—literally, "four-six prose" in Chinese—comes from its form. Theoretically, the aesthetic of the four-six configuration for Chinese writers is rooted in the Chinese language, but why is it that prose is formed with lines of four and six syllables? Why is the four-six form favored in essays rather than in poems? And what is the aesthetic principle behind four-six prose? These are the questions that this essay attempts to answer. It is argued that poetic prosody (four syllables per line) and prosaic prosody (six syllables per line) combine in parallel prose to form a syntax free of spatiotemporal markers, which in turn opens up an array of creative possibilities for the reader based on his or her individual subjectivity. The text used to demonstrate this point is the "Wucheng fu" 蕪城賦 (Rhapsody on the City Overgrown with Weeds) by Bao Zhao 鮑照 (417–450).

Keywords parallel prose, four-six prose, poetic prosody, prosaic prosody, spatiotemporal-free syntax, prosodic grammar

The Birth of Four-Six Prose: Prosody

To understand how early four-six prose first appeared is not simply a matter of textual criticism. What is really important here is to find the origins of the linguistic conditions that gave rise to it. Liu Shipei 劉師培 (1884–1919) wrote, "Since the [time of the] Eastern Han... literary genres have differed in crucial ways from those of the Western Han. The era of Jian'an [196–219]... is the period in which the four-six form appeared. However, literary styles changed

once again, this time differing even more from those of the Eastern Han" 東京以降 文體迥殊於西漢。建安之世 開四六之先,而文體復殊於東漢.¹

In his *Lunwen zaji* 論文雜記 (Essays on Literary Criticism), it can be seen that Liu holds the same view as modern linguistics. He said, "The prosody [yinjie 音節], as found in prose, originates from prosaic energy [qi 氣] and has nothing to do with tone contrast and antithesis making" 文之音節本由文氣而生,與調平仄、講對仗無關. This statement provides important guidance for our research on the prosody of parallel prose: the correspondence between the principles of prosody and prose serves our starting point.

In the "Zhang ju" 章句 (Chapters and Sentences) section of the *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍, Liu Xie 劉勰 (465–520) defines "chapters" and "sentences" very much as would a modern linguist. The notion of "position" in his statement "put words within positions" refers to syntactic position. Though he did not specify what types of positions there are or what the relationship between them might be, 4 he did point out that "each Chinese character [= word] has its own position" and that "Chinese characters form sentences according to their positions (or sentences are made up of words in their proper positions [*wei yan yue ju* 位言曰句])." These concepts are far ahead of their time and are the earliest examples of syntactic concepts and analysis in Chinese studies of ancient literature. It is within Liu Xie's clear explanation of these concepts that we find his discussion of four-six prose:

Regarding the fact that formation of chapters and sentences is unlimited and that characters have rules and patterns, groups of four characters are tightly packed and not rushed, while groups of six are ample and not leisurely....

若夫章句無常,而字有條數,四字密而不促,六字格(裕)而非緩 。⁶

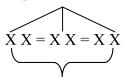
Liu's statement that "the formation of chapters and sentences is unlimited" is in the same spirit as the notion from modern linguistics that there are an unlimited number of sentences that can be created. They are grammatical because "characters have patterns." The word translated here as *pattern* in Chinese is *tiaoshu* 條數, in which *tiao* refers to rules and patterns, while *shu* indicates sentence length. In just a few words, Liu Xie was able to express the syntactic principles of sentences. Regarding sentence length, he points out that groups of four characters have the quality of being "tightly packed and not rushed" 密而 不促, while groups of six characters are "ample and not leisurely" 格 (裕) 而非緩. This is the key to our understanding four-six prose. "Tightly packed" indicates how closely various units are packed together. Ample refers to how spacious (or how far away) in distance various units are from one another. The following analysis formulates this idea:

a. "tightly packed" = one category or one unit



"not rushed" = there is a pause between the feet

b. "ample" = more than one unit = several feet

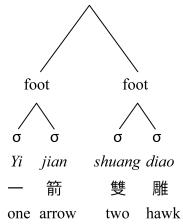


"not leisurely" = several units

"Tightly packed" is a manifestation of the line's function as a single unit. "Ample" is the result of several different feet. If we analyze groups of four syllables and groups of six syllables from this perspective, four-six prose is composed of tightly packed feet and loosely packed feet (of course there are still other types in addition to variations of the latter type): the question that follows is, what qualities or properties do these two types of categories have? The answer to this depends on what type of unit each of them is within their respective prosodic categories.

Let's first have a look at four-syllable units. What type of category is a four-syllable two-feet-in-one (= tightly packed and not rushed) unit? Conventionally, this is the compound prosodic word in prosodic morphology,⁷ namely:

Compound Prosodic Word



One arrow, two hawks.

Compound prosodic words are a type of compound word that is composed of two standard foot (= prosodic word) groups. Hence "tightly packed and not rushed." "Tightly packed" because they function as a single unit, but "not rushed" since a prosodic pause can still occur between a 2+2 compound.

What about six-syllable groups? We can view six-syllable groups as a combination of two super feet (3+3) or as a group of three standard feet (2+2+2).

But what unit within the prosody system for Chinese can serve as "a unit formed of combinations of two or three feet"? The best possibility comes from the six-syllable line of poetry. According to Lo Kwunchong,⁸ the standard prosodic structure for six-syllable lines in Chinese poetry is (2+2+2) because the 3+3 form of the six-syllable structure is easily confused (or analyzed) as two three-syllable lines, making it difficult for this pattern to become an independent poetic form. From this standpoint, only the (2+2+2) form of the six-syllable line is distinguishable from poetry made of three-, four-, five-, or seven-syllable lines. As such, it is very likely that the notion of "ample" in Liu Xie's description is referring to the one-group (2+2+2) three-feet category. Based on this, we can say that "ample and not leisurely" is referring to six-syllable lines of poetry (which are composed of a prosaic prosody, as will be seen below).

Furthermore, how can we determine the prosodic quality described using the word ample? If ample is indeed referring to a single unit of prosody, that single unit should be "tightly packed." Otherwise, it will break down into two or more units. If "six-syllable group" refers to a line of poetry, then should we understand it as being "ample" and not "tightly packed"? Ample reflects an attribute of speech in relation to the six-syllable group. As Lo points out, "Poetic prosody and the prosody of prose are fundamentally different: poetic prosody requires that lines of poetry be composed of repeating prosodic units. Standard prosody for six-syllable lines runs contrary to this. Prose, on the other hand, allows for variation in stress and length, causing a great variety of changes to six-syllable lines internally" 詩律及文律(有) 根本上的不同: 詩律要求詩句以兩 個韻律單位複迭組成,六言詩標準韻律有悖於此;文律則容許句內輕重、長短不一, 使六言句內變化多端。9 This is saying that Liu Xie's description as "ample and not leisurely" points to the nature of the six-syllable line as a unit consisting of a "line of prose" rather than a "line of poetry." They are "ample" but not "poetic" because they are composed of three two-syllable units. 10 "Ample" is a prosodic characteristic of prose, while "tightly packed" is an expression of poetic prosody. If we say that a four-syllable combination is a category for lines of poetry as well as for morphology (word formation) and at the same time, say that a six-syllable combination is a unit for oral sentence structure, then the four-plus-six structure of parallel prose is the result of "poetic prosody + prosaic prosody." It was the combination of the prosodic essences of poetry and prose that forged what has come to be seen as a masterpiece of Chinese and world literature: the genre of four-six prose (or parallel prose).

Zong-qi Cai's 2015 study of the rhythm of *xiaoling* 小令 (a type of Chinese *ci* poetry) shows that six-syllable combinations can be directly used as lines of

xiaoling, but for five- and seven-syllable line poetry, this would be very difficult to do. ¹¹ Actually, however, even though *xiaoling* can accommodate six-syllable lines, it has a feel similar to *ci* and *qu* poetry inherent in its "bones." For example:

Verse of the Three Towers South of the River 江南三台詞 In Yangzhou, next to a bridge [is] a young woman. 揚州橋邊少婦, In Chang'an city, [there are] business people. 長安城裏商人。 No news for two years. 二年不得消息, Everyone is praying to the gods.¹² 各自拜鬼求神。13 Snow and Plum Blossoms 雪梅 Old tree, jackdaw, mountain path, 古木寒鴉山徑, Little bridge, flowing water, human dwelling. 小橋流水人家。 Before last night, a deep snow fell upon the village, 昨夜前村深雪, 陽春又到梅花。14 Springtime once again fell upon the plum blossoms.

The six-syllable line poems above are dripping with the flavor of ci poetry. If, as has been argued, the optimal line for poetry is composed of two units (= two beats), since six-syllable poems are three beats per line (2#2#2), they are not considered optimal lines (which is why they are considered to have prosaic prosody). It is for this reason that when we change six-syllable lines to seven-syllable lines, the ci gan 詞感 (feel of ci poetry) changes immediately into normal shi wei 詩味 (poetic charm). Compare the following:

	South of the River	江南
	The color of the grass by the Green Grass Lake.	青草湖邊草色,
2	The voices of the monkeys on the Flying Monkey	飛猿嶺上猿聲。
	Ridge.	
	The guest from the distant Xiang River has arrived.	萬里湘江客到,
4	In spite of wind and rain, men still travel the road. 15	有風有雨人行。16
	The grass on the banks of Green Grass Lake is green.	青草湖邊草色青,
2	There is the sound of a monkey on Flying Monkey Mountain.	飛猿嶺上有猿聲。
	The guest from the distant Xiang river has not arrived.	萬里湘江客未到,
4	Very seldom do men travel in the wind and rain. ¹⁷	有風有雨少人行。

It is not difficult to understand that the "feel of *ci* poetry" produced by poetry with six-syllable lines originates in the rhythm of prosaic prosody. If this is indeed true, then why is it that, despite the fact that parallel prose has a considerable amount of four- and six-syllable repetitive prosody, not to mention antithesis and rhyming lines, it is still called "prose" and not "poetry"? The reason is clear: because it has the skeleton of "prosaic prosody" but the spirit of "poetic prosody." Without a doubt, Liu Xie was right in saying that four-six prose has the prosodic properties of both poetry and prose. However, it did not occur to him that four-six prose also has attributes that are in categories concurrent to both poetry and prose, as defined by (1) and (2), respectively. Furthermore, he did not use these prosodic attributes to obtain a clear understanding of the genre of parallel prose.

The term *four-six* captures the essence of parallel prose. Within the history of Chinese literature, the first person to use the term to describe the genre of parallel prose was Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819):

Boasting of itself as literature, it's just parallelism and antithesis of trivial words. It's like taking in yellow and echoing it as white; like a bird singing, then flying away. Parallel in fours and pairs of six, like a silk heart with a brocade tongue. The Gong note is low and the Yu note is fluttery; the panpipe is in (the musician's) hands.

眩耀為文,瑣碎排偶;抽黃對白,啽哢飛走;駢四儷六,錦心繡口;宮沈羽振,笙簧觸手。¹⁸

Liu Zongyuan summarized the characteristics of four-six prose beautifully, though he himself advocated the use of the classical essay and opposed the use of four-six prose. The important thing to point out here is that, regardless of what types of criticism parallel prose may have faced historically, it is still a wonderful genre of literature cultivated by way of the Chinese language—this is not simply a matter of the skills of any given writer. What is important is the structural functionality of the Chinese language itself and that this structural functionality was formed through continual development.

Although we lack a solid explanation of why parallel prose necessarily appeared after the Han dynasty, research such as Sun Deqian's 孫德謙 (1869–1935) *Liuchao li zhi* 六朝麗指 (The Essence of Parallel Prose in the Six Dynasties), Liu Shipei's (1884–1919) *Lunwen zaji*, and others have offered some incisive insights, allowing us to dig deeper into the matter. Take Liu Shipei's theory for example:

During the Western Han dynasty, though it belonged to rhyming prose, its manner of making antithetical couplets had not yet become strict. The prose of the Eastern Han was gradually elevated to using antithetical couplets. As for the Wei dynasty, its writers

were conceited due to their ability to make sentences colorful, sound nice, and to decorate them with flowery language.

西漢之時、雖屬韻文,而對偶之法未嚴。東漢之文,漸尚對偶,若魏代之體,則又以 聲色相矜,以藻繪相飾。

Since the Eastern Han, persuasive writing has usually used single lines and single words, matched up with one another, having a parallel effect, thus adding to and even complementing one another, giving rise to a style of writing completely different from the Western Han.

東京以降,論辯諸作,往往以單行只語運排偶之詞,而奇偶相生,致文體迥殊於西 漢。

During the Jian'an period, there were seven writers in succession. They rarely laid pen to paper, but when they did, they used parallel lines instead of single lines. They didn't make rhymed essays, yet they still employed parallelism, producing extravagant and flowery works. And this is how four-six prose began. This genre is different from those of the Eastern Han. In the writing of the Wei dynasty, two phrases were combined to express one meaning, from simple to complex. Of this there is no doubt. 建安之世,七子繼興,偶有撰著,悉以排偶易單行,即非有韻之文,亦用偶文之體,而華靡之作,遂開四六之先,而文體復殊於東漢。魏代之文,則合二語成一意,由簡趨繁,昭然不爽。¹⁹

Liu Shipei noticed the parallel development of literary genre and language, thereby showing the historical process that produced parallel prose: the "parallel prose" written during the Western Han dynasty, the Eastern Han dynasty, and starting from Emperor Xian of Han taking the throne (196 CE) are all categorically different genres of literature, owing to the fact that their methods of antithesis, styles of writing in official documents, irregular (odd) and regular (even) rhythms (qi'ou peizhi 奇偶配置), styles of rhetoric, and so forth are all vastly divergent. As is commonly known, the transition between the Western and Eastern Han dynasties was a pivotal time for the Chinese language (when it changed from a synthetic language to an analytical language). ²⁰ Tone formation in Chinese was also not fully complete until after Emperor Xian of Han took the throne. According to Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735-1815), "By the Wei-Jin period, rising tones and entering tones had mostly changed into falling tones, and level tones into nonlevel tones; then the four-tone system of Chinese was complete. It was no longer the same as that of Archaic Chinese" 洎乎魏晉,上入聲多轉而 為去聲,平聲多轉而為仄聲,於是乎四聲大備,而與古不侔.21

Liu Shipei pointed out that the transformation of literary genres was a reflection of a transformation in language typology. His analysis viewed the development of literature in terms of linguistic change, thereby opening a new road for us. In the past, the study of linguistics paid little attention to literature. Similarly, one of the blind spots within research on the history of literature was linguistics. Today, we are in an age in which we can use the cross-fertilization between these fields in order to find solutions to problems.

Structural Characteristics of Parallel Sentences

As mentioned above, parallel prose has the skeleton of four-six prosody. Since it is a skeleton, it also has a spine, ribs, femurs, and humeri. What are the main structures of four-six sentences? What are their secondary structures? We will start with Qi Gong's analysis of various lines of parallel prose by Wang Bo 王勃 (649?—676) in "Teng wang ge xu" 滕王閣序 (Preface to the Prince Teng's Pavilion):²²

a. 兩節 TWO FEET

b. 兩節 TWO FEET

In the stately carriages drawn by horses, we 儼驂騑於上路

make our way ahead,

c. 兩個三字組 TWO (super) FEET

A panpipe is being played and a gentle, cool 爽籟發而清風生

breeze blows.

The soft singing lingers on. It soothes the 纖歌凝而白雲遏

passing white clouds into coming to a halt.

d. 三節 THREE FEET

Sunlight flies alongside the lonely wild duck. 落霞與孤鶩齊飛 The sunlight shoots through the rosy clouds as 秋水共長天一色

the autumn water merges with the boundless sky into a single hue.²³

Qi Gong marks the number of *jie* \mathfrak{P} (which is the same as our "beat," "foot," or "rhythmic unit"—not to be confused with the stressed foot of other languages). It is clear that in the first antithetical couplet, each line has two beats. For the second example (b), each line has six syllables. Its analysis is somewhat unusual. The most common analysis is that it has a $(1+5(=2 \triangle 2))$ meter $(\triangle 2)$ represents a nonmetrical particle), but Qi Gong parses it as having "two *jie*." Why? Two concepts are needed here first: "extrametricality" and "the functional category of prosody." When Qi Gong is analyzing this type of parallel sentence,

he removes all extrametrical and functional elements (i.e., particles that are represented by a \triangle) from the notion of meter. That is to say, in this example:

The yan (majestic) and the fang (take in) as well as the two yu (on/at) are not included in the meter. The former are what are called pai wai pai 拍外拍 (a beat outside the beat) or a kong ban pai qi 空半拍起 (half-beat start), and the latter is referred to as a jianpaici 間拍詞 (pause filler, between-beat word). The end result is that there are really only two main beats (2+2) in the six syllables.

According to the above prosodic principles, we find that though (c) and (d) both have seven-syllable lines, their structures are radically different: (c) is composed of two three-syllable combinations and is actually made up of only two super-feet, while (d) is three standard disyllabic feet. Why? Because within the seven-syllable line, the $er \equiv in (c)$ is analyzed as a pause filler. This is different from the ordinary analysis, which takes into account only the number of syllables and ignores their prosodic qualities, resulting in a 4+3 structure. The $yu \not \equiv (and)$ and the $gong \not \equiv (together)$ in the very last antithetical couplet are both pause fillers. Since they do not hold prosodic positions, the remaining six syllables are divided into three jie (i.e., three standard feet).

According to the above analysis, it is not difficult to see that the sentences of parallel prose might share a common origin with Qu Yuan's 屈原 (352–281 BCE) "Li sao" 離騷 (Encountering Sorrow) in terms of disyllabic foot prosody, extrametrical elements/particles, pause fillers, and so forth. 25 This is exactly what makes the prosody of parallel prose and that of five- and seven-syllable line poetry so different. They are two different types of structures. What defines parallel prose as parallel prose is applying the principles of poetry to the writing of prose. Poetry can be characterized as follows: "Single beats do not form lines. Single lines do not form antithetical couplets. Single antithetical couplets do not form stanzas." The paragraphs of parallel prose are formed by similar principles. With this understanding of these basic traits, let us move on to the analysis of our main example, the "Wucheng fu" 蕪城賦 (Rhapsody on the City Overgrown with Weeds), by Bao Zhao 鮑照 (417–450).

Four-Six Expressions in "Wucheng fu"

It is better if a linguistic analysis of literature begins with concrete examples. This section concerns the distribution of four-six expressions in "Wucheng fu." There are four stanzas in total. The first stanza is:

	Wucheng Fu (1st stanza)	蕪城賦
	Smooth and gently sloping, a level plain:	彌迤平原:
2	Southward galloping to the Green Kola	
	and the Swollen Sea,	南馳蒼梧漲海,
	Northward racing to the Purple Pass and the	北走紫塞鴈門。
	Goose Gate.	
4	With the Transport Canal in tow,	拖以漕渠,
•	And Kun Ridge as its axle,	軸以昆岡。
6	It is a nook of doubling rivers and enfolding passes,	重江復闗之隩,
	A hub where four highways converge, and five	四會五達之莊。
	intersect.	
8	In the past, during its age of consummate splendor,	當昔全盛之時,
	Chariots rubbed axle-hub against axle-hub,	車掛轊,
10	Men bumped shoulder against shoulder,	人駕肩。
	Settlements and ward gates covered the land,	廛閈撲地,
12	Singing and the sound of the pipe pierced the sky.	歌吹沸天。
	It multiplied in wealth with its salt fields,	孳貨鹽田,
14	Dug profits from the copper hills.	鏟利銅山。
	In talent and man power it was strong and rich;	才力雄富,
16	Warriors and steeds were well-trained and	士馬精妍。
	well-footed.	
	Thus, it was able	故能
18	To exceed the laws of Ch'in	侈秦法,
	Surpass the institutes of Zhou,	佚周令,
20	And carve lofty fortresses,	劃崇墉,
	Dredge deep moats,	刳浚洫,
22	Planning for long reigns and a propitious mandate.	圖修世以休命。
	Thus,	是以
24	Rammed earth walls and parapets, grandly	板築雉堞之殷,
	constructed,	
	Well-curbed lookouts and beacon towers,	井幹烽櫓之勤,
	meticulously crafted,	
26	In measure higher than the Five Peaks,	格高五嶽,
	In breadth wider than the Three Divisions,	袤廣三墳。
28	Jutted up like sheer cliffs,	崪若斷岸,
	Abruptly rose like long clouds.	矗似長雲。
30	They built with lodestones to resist assault,	制磁石以禦沖,
	Daubed carmine loam to make soaring designs.	糊赪壤以飛文。
32		
32	Beholding the solidity and defense of its foundation	觀基扃之固護,

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Couldn't a single lord's house hold them for ten 
thousand years?

34 Yet, as three dynasties have come and gone, 
And over five hundred years have passed, 

36 It has been carved like a melon, split like beans. 26 竟瓜剖而豆分! 27
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When analyzing a rhapsody (or fu, a form of Chinese rhymed prose), the extrametrical elements need to be identified (as they are not taken into account metrically) first. Next, the between-beat elements should also be ascertained (as they are not taken into account metrically either). Next, the musical theme should be determined: the prominent prosody. With this as a basis, we can analyze the metrical aesthetic of the secondary (functional) elements—why are they necessary? The key to identifying the prominent prosody is the lian 聯 (antithetical couplet) and its dui 對 (coupling). Based on the theory above, parallel prose in general has both poetic prosody (four-syllable lines) and prosaic prosody (six-syllable lines). The extra-metrical and between-beat elements necessarily belong to prosaic prosody (spoken-type elements). The ingenious way these four fit together (4+6+ between-beat elements + extrametrical elements) shows the writer's literary skill and talent.

At the beginning of "Wucheng fu," the geographical location of Wucheng (literally, the "City Overgrown with Weeds") is first introduced along with its glorious past. Here, we see what kinds of words and phrases the writer uses to express himself; how he puts words together to form sentences, antithetical couplets, and stanzas; and whether he makes use of prosaic prosody (prose) or poetic prosody (paired couplets) to form these units. Furthermore, we can also see his strategies for utilizing morphology, syntax, the rules of poetry (regular prosody), and rules of prose (irregular prosody), resulting in the stanza's prosodic form below (note: numbers represent the number of syllables in each line, and the parentheses represent prosodic groupings):

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(4+6 \ 6 \ (= 2+4))+(44+6 \ 6 \ (= 4+2))
(6+33+44+44+44)+ conjunction gu neng 故能 (so as)
(33+33+6)+ conjunction shi yi 是以 (therefore)
(66+44+44)
(66+66)+(44)+(1+5)
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After teasing out the four-six syllable versification, the internal structure of each line and foot must be studied. For example (where "|" indicates a pause and " \approx " indicates a lengthening of the main vowel):

彌迤|平原:

南馳|蒼梧漲海,北走|紫塞鴈門 - 本-以|漕渠,軸-以|昆岡。 - 重江|復闊 ~ (之)隩,四會五達 ~ (之)莊。

當昔|全盛|之時,

車|掛轊,人|駕肩。 廛閈|撲地,歌吹|沸天。

孳貨|鹽田,鏟利|銅山。

才力|雄富,士馬|精妍。

故能 侈|秦法,佚|周令,

劃|崇墉, 刳|浚洫,

圖≈修世 |(以)休命。

是以 板築雉堞|之|殷,井幹烽櫓|之|勤,

格高|五嶽,袤廣|三墳。 崪若|斷岸,矗似|長雲。

制≈ 礠石|(以)禦沖,

糊≈ 赪壤|(以)飛文。

觀≈ 基扃|(之)固護,

將≈ 萬祀|(而)一君。

出入|三代,五百|余載,

竟≈ 瓜剖 (而)豆分!

As discussed above, the melodiousness of a poem arises from repetition, ²⁸ whether grammatical or rhythmic repetition, or repetition of vocabulary or rhymes. Nearly all place-holding elements can be repeated. What is important to parallel prose is the repetition and echo between phrases. The cleverness of the literary effect hinges on this.

Below is the second stanza. Its prosodic form is $(4 \dots 4) + (66 + 55 + 44)$.

	Wucheng Fu (2nd stanza)	蕪城賦	
	March moss clings to the wells,	澤葵依井,	
38	Wild kudzu vines tangle the paths;	荒葛罥塗。	22=ANVO
	The halls are filled with snakes and	壇羅虺蜮,	
	beetles,		
40	By stairs contend deer and flying	階鬥麏鼯。	13=NVOO
	squirrels.		
	Wood sprites and mountain demons,	木魅山鬼,	
42	Field rats, wall foxes,	野鼠城狐。	22=NN()NN

	Howling in the wind, shrieking in the	風嗥雨嘯,	
	rain,		
44	Appear at night, take flight at dawn.	昬見晨趨。	22=VOVO
	Hungry hawks sharpen their beaks,	饑鷹厲吻,	
46	Cold kites hoot at young birds	寒鴟嚇雛。	22=ANVO
	Crouching felines, lurking tigers,	伏虣藏虎,	
48	Suckle blood, sup on flesh.	乳血餐膚。	22=VOVO
	Fallen thickest blocking the road,	崩榛塞路,	
50	Grow dense and dark on the ancient	崢嶸古馗。	22=VO/
	highway.		AA+AN
	White poplars early shed their leaves;	白楊早落,	
52	Wall grasses prematurely wither.	塞草前衰。	22=AN AdvV
	Bitter and biting is the frosty air;	棱棱霜氣,	
54	Roaring and raging, the wind's might.	蔌蔌風威。	22=AA NN
	A lone tumbleweed bestirs itself;	孤蓬自振,	
56	Startled sand flies without cause.	驚砂坐飛。	22=AN AdvV
	Brushy scrub darkly stretches without	灌莽杳而無際,	
	end;		
58	Clustered copses wildly intertwine.	叢薄紛其相依。	2 (1X) 2
	The surrounding moat has already been	通池既已夷,	
	leveled;		
60	The lofty turrets too have fallen.	峻隅又已頹。	2 (XX1)
	Looking straight ahead for a thousand	直視千裏外,	
	miles and beyond,		
62	One only sees rising yellow dust.	唯見起黃埃。	2 3
	Focus one's thoughts, quietly listen:	凝思寂聽,	
64	The heart is pained and broken.	心傷已摧。	2 2

In this stanza, the author begins with twenty four-syllable lines as if in a single breath. The rhythm is constant, and the form is mechanical. From this, we can experience the aesthetic tolerance for the constant repetition of the four-syllable line prosody. This is the first point. Next, we can see how the author changes up his use of grammar and meaning within the confines of the (usual) 2+2 form. In fact, this is exactly how writers of rhapsody (fu) developed their rich vocabulary and cultivated their talent for wording ($\mathit{lianzi zhicai | 1/2}$). The first antithetical couplet "March moss clings to the wells, Wild kudzu vines tangle the paths" 澤葵依井,荒葛罥塗 is SSVO in 2+2 form (where S= subject and SS= a disyllabic subject; A= adjective, N= noun). The second antithetical couplet quickly changes up to "The halls are filled with snakes and beetles / By stairs

contend deer and flying squirrels" 壇羅虺蜮,階鬥麏鼯,which is SV + OO in 2+2 form. The third antithetical couplet, "Wood sprites and mountain demons / Field rats, wall foxes" 木魅山鬼,野鼠城狐,is a 2+2 list of nouns or NN + NN. The two nouns are missing a connective word, which is why they could mean either "Wood sprites and mountain demons / field rats follow wall foxes" 木魅並山鬼,野鼠伴城狐 or "Wood sprites become mountain demons / field rats run with wall foxes" 木魅成山鬼,野鼠竄城狐. So which is it then? The author does not say. He just does his utmost to vary the grammar and morphology within this 2+2 prosodic form to make the four-syllable lines as different as possible. From this it can be seen that the places where prosody is identical are exactly the places where poetic ability is most prominent. Liu Shipei maintains, "The biggest taboo in writing is monotony, the lack of any significant variation" 文章最忌一篇只用一調而不變化. 29

Then how do authors create variation? Liu Shipei continues:

The way to vary the monotony does not lie in changing the number of syllables in successive phrases, but rather lies in the grammar given to wording within a sentence. If the prosody of all lines in a stanza is identical [i.e., a "monotonized" prosody], that can usually be avoided by changing the word order through different syntactic operations. For this reason, four-syllable phrases should not be antithesized or paired together word to word. Even and odd numbers of syllables should complement each other within the four-syllable lines, so that there will be less "monotonization."

夫變調之法不在前後字數之不同,而在句中用字之地位。調若相犯,顛倒字序既可避免。故四言之文不應句句皆對,奇偶相成,則犯調自鮮。³⁰

Liu's statement seems like an incisive summary of this group of four-syllableline parallel prose. These ten pairs of four-syllable lines could be a brilliant footnote to Liu's statement, as they illustrate it so well.

Just when this big stanza of four-syllable lines is about to end, the author suddenly uses reduplication to bring about a feeling of desolation that cuts to the bone. Its climax: "Bitter and biting is the frosty air; Roaring and raging, the wind's might" 棱棱霜氣,蔌蔌風威. When should we use reduplication? How many times should we use it? Authors of literature are very particular about these things. In this case, after the reduplicative antithetical couplet, the author decides to use a final four-syllable couplet that contrasts with the previous reduplicative couplet to conclude this section: "A lone tumbleweed bestirs itself; startled sand flies without cause" 孤蓬自振,驚砂坐飛. As will be shown below, this couplet demonstrates the author's elaborately conceived "spatial- and

temporal-free" technique, a creative concept in which the uniqueness of the wenyan 文眼 (essay eye) can find full expression.

The prosodic structure for the third stanza is:

$$(46+46+66)+1(4...4)+2(44)+2(55)-1$$
:

	Wucheng Fu (3rd stanza)	蕪城賦
	As for	若夫
66	Carved gates, embroidered curtains,	藻扃黼帳、
	Sites of singing halls and dance pavilions;	歌堂舞閣之基。
68	Carnelian pools, and green trees,	琁淵碧樹、
	Lodges of fowling groves and fishing isles;	弋林釣渚之館。
70	The music of Wu, Cai, Ch'i, and Ch'in.	吳蔡齊秦之聲,
	Amusements of the dragon-fish, ostrich, and horse:	魚龍爵馬之玩。
72	All	皆
	have vanished in smoke, have been reduced	熏歇燼滅,
	to ashes,	
74	Their brilliance engulfed, their sounds silenced.	光沈響絶。
	Exquisite consorts from the Eastern Capital,	東都妙姬,
76	Beauties from southern states,	南國麗人。
	With hearts of meliot, complexions of white silk,	蕙心紈質,
78	Jade features, scarlet lips:	玉貌絳唇。
	There is none whose soul rest unburied in somber	莫不埋魂幽石,
	stones,	
80	Whose bones lie unscattered in bleak dust.	委骨窮塵。
	Can you recall the joyful pleasures of sharing the	豈憶同輿之愉樂,
	carriage,	
82	Or the painful misery of the sequestered	離宮之苦辛哉。
	palace?	

Note that the 5+5 structure of the last sentence is actually (2 \triangle 2) (where \triangle is an empty metrical particle). Any function word can act as a placeholder (or pause filler [*jian paici*]). Moreover, the internal relationship between the two elements that are separated is not entirely determined by the spacing word (i.e., a syntactic functional word like *at*, *in*, *on*, or *by*).

And finally, the last stanza:

	Wucheng Fu (4th Stanza)	蕪城賦
	Heaven's way, how is it	天道如何?
84	That so many swallow grief?	吞恨者多!
	I grasp my zither and name a tune;	抽琴命操,

I play "The Song of the Ruined City." 為蕪城之歌。 The song goes: 歌曰: Border winds are fierce, 邊風急兮 88 Above the wall it is cold. 城上寒, Wells and paths have vanished, 井徑滅兮 Hillocks and mounds are destroyed. 丘隴殘。 千龄兮萬代, 92 A thousand, ten thousand ages, Everyone is gone—what can one say? 共盡兮何言!

The rhythmic structure here is:

```
(22)+(3+1)(2+21+2-1+1)

1+1:(2+(1+\triangle))(2+1),(2+(1+\triangle))(2+1)

(2+\triangle)+(2)(2+\triangle)+(2)!
```

The prosody of the first line "What is the way of heaven?" 天道如何 is 2+2, but immediately after, "That so many swallow grief?" 吞恨者多,is 3+1. The former still retains poetic prosody, but the latter is completely prosaic. The poetic prosody reminds us that this work is meant to be chanted while the prosaic prosody reminds us that the author wants to express his intention to change focus for his deeper emotions. Even though the number of syllables for both lines is still 4+4, the first couplet of this stanza is not at all antithetical. The second line is genuine prose: it is "speech" and not "poetry." The next couplet is similar. The beginning line "I grasp my zither and name a tune" 抽琴命操 seems to return to the standard 2+2 structure, but the following line is definitely the opposite: "I play 'The Song of the Ruined City'" $|(\Delta)|$ (Δ) Δ). This line is also non-antithetical and unbalanced, and it destroys the corresponding melody. Therefore, it naturally leads to the "song" lyrics that follow—where the use of α (a mood-expressing particle) effectively distinguishes the rhythm of "song" from the melody of "poetry."

Up to this point, we have seen that "Wucheng fu" contains elements of poetry, song, and even speech. Though these elements work together in harmony, they also have their own distinct characteristics and completely embody the exquisite coupling of "parallel" and "prose."

Four-Six Forms in "Wucheng fu"

As explained above, four-six is the skeleton of parallel prose. Below, we will concretely analyze some typical four-six structures found in "Wucheng fu."

1. Different Six-Syllable Structures: (2+4) versus (4+2)

Smooth and gently sloping, a level plain: 彌迤平原: Southward galloping to the Green Kola and the 南馳蒼梧漲海, Swollen Sea. Northward racing to the Purple Pass and the Goose 北走紫塞鴈門。 Gate. With the Transport Canal in tow, 柂以漕渠, And Kun Ridge as its axle, 軸以昆岡。 It is a nook of doubling rivers and enfolding passes, 重江復闗之隩,

intersect.

四會五達之莊。

A hub where four highways converge, and five

This first section describes what is to the South, and what is to the North. What kind of grammatical devices can be used to achieve the artistic effect of parallel prose? Lines 2 and 3 are 2+4, while the last two lines are 4+2, forming a very obvious contrast. These two couplets have vastly different structures, even though both are six-syllable combinations. The first couplet makes use of xingxiang dongci 形象動詞 (imagistic verbs) to compare the immoveable ground to a running animal, thereby dynamically describing a static existence. Grammatically speaking, this is done by using verbs to give the impression of movement, a syntactic reorganization that lends the lines characteristics of shijiayu 詩家語 (poetic diction).31

The second set of six-syllable lines embodies a different type of syntax to create a completely static description, using the connective zhi 之 (a grammatical particle) in the middle of an otherwise 4+1 line. The first four syllables are modifiers, while the last syllable is a head noun. Its modifying elements do their utmost to exaggerate and pile up the objects intensively described, while the object of modification attains an unusually grandiose state. This is a type of "rich" descriptive sentence often found in parallel prose. The form "(XX | XX) 之 N" makes use of two disyllabic beats in describing a monosyllabic noun. The duplication of the beat shows its strength: (重江|復闗)之隩,(四會|五達)之莊 (i.e., (doubling rivers | enfolding passes)'s nook; (four [highways] converge | five [intersect])'s hub. Clearly, the "重X復Y" and "四X五Y" formulas intensify the prosody even though it already has the force of exaggeration.

Here, let us call this type of six-syllable versification the "(4 zhi 1) pattern," which comprises a four-syllable modifier plus *zhi* \nearrow modifying the monosyllabic noun, prosodized as a (4 *zhi* 1) form, where *zhi* is a genitive marker. The (4 *zhi* 1) form within parallel prose is a very typical "pattern for describing richness" of scenery, plants, animals, and still objects. It fills the third stanza of the Wucheng

Fu, where we see its special "literary grammar" function in antithetical writing—namely, to express a state of thriving extravagance or to intensify feelings about a rich object. Here are two lines from the original:

Interestingly, if we replace the (4 *zhi* 1) form with anything else, such as:

that exaggerated and accumulated feeling of prosodic modification and its unusual emphasis completely and totally vanishes. This contrast reveals the extreme nature and effectiveness of the (4 *zhi* 1) form.

One of the important tasks when researching parallel prose is to analyze the meaning-expression functionality of its four-six form (prosodic structure). The prosody of the (XX/XX zhi (\nearrow) X) form as well as the "prosodic feeling" and "prosodic functionality" of the (XX | XX) and (XX | XXX) forms are all very different from one another. The former has three beats and a rich rhyming flavor. The latter has two beats and seems, comparatively at least, feeble and weak. No prosodic comparisons are absolute.

2. The (4 zhi 1) (Extreme Exaggeration) and (3 pause 2) (Pace Lowering) Devices: Alternating between Tightly Packed and Leisurely

Thus,

	,	,
24	Rammed earth walls and parapets, grandly	板築雉堞之殷,
	constructed,	
	Well-curbed lookouts and beacon towers,	井幹烽櫓之勤,
	meticulously crafted,	
26	In measure higher than the Five Peaks,	格高五嶽,
	In breadth wider than the Three Divisions,	袤廣三墳。
28	Jutted up like sheer cliffs,	崪若斷岸,
	Abruptly rose like long clouds.	矗似長雲。
30	They built with lodestones to resist assault,	制磁石以禦沖,
	Daubed carmine loam to make soaring designs.	糊赪壤以飛文。

是以

32 Beholding the solidity and defense of its foundation 觀基肩之固護,

Couldn't a single lord's house hold them for ten 將萬祀而一君。 thousand years?

As shown above, (4 zhi 1) is enriched verse (狀極格律). As such, grand 殷 and meticulous 勤 in lines 24 and 25 can be understood as the nominalized adjectives. When writers who are linguistically sensitive describe rich and magnificent landscapes, they are invariably partial to this form. Compare:

Alas! To the chrysanthemum, except Tao Qian's, 噫! 菊之愛,陶後鮮有聞; there's love rare.

To the peony, people would commonly throng 牡丹之愛,宜乎眾矣。³² in care.

This is also a "X(X) zhi (之) X" form, but it has a completely different momentum from the "XX/XX zhi (之) X" form. In addition to xieji 寫極 (enriched description) devices and their corresponding "leisurely diction" forms, there is another form called the "3 pause 2" (or "3間2") form. Take this line for example: "They built with lodestones to resist assault, Daubed carmine loam to make soaring designs" 制磁石以禦沖,糊練壤以飛文. Each line has two actions, zhi 制 (build) . . . yu 禦 (resist) . . . , hu 制 (daub) . . . fei 飛 (soar). The reason the writer uses the (3 pause 2) form is to create a "pace-lowering" effect; it is exactly this type of effect that the "yi" 以 has on the prosaic prosody. Its aesthetic effect can be tested with conversion: convert any six-syllable line to a four- or five-syllable line and the effect of its prosaic prosody immediately disappears. Compare:

【四言】 制石禦沖,糊壤飛文。基扃固護,萬祀一君。

【五言】 禦沖制磁石,飛文糊赪壤。固護觀基扃,一君萬祀將。

【六言】 制磁石以禦沖,糊赪壤以飛文。觀基扃之固護,將萬祀而一君。
Built lodestones resist assault. Daubed loam soaring designs;
Solidify beholding and foundation walls, will be the lord for ten

Clearly, prosaic prosody is the soul of parallel prose.

thousand years.

3. Transition from Balanced to Mixed Prosody

Returning to the second stanza of the Wucheng Fu, we recall it begins with a long sequence of four-syllable lines. Their poetic prosody is balanced and neat, then interrupted by the introduction of six-syllable lines with their prosaic prosody. The latter, not repetitive by nature and further broken up with function words (such as $er \pi [and, and yet])$ and $zhi \not \supseteq (a grammatical particle)$ that add still more pauses, strongly shift the feeling away from poetry and toward prose: "Dense vegetation darkly stretches without end; / Clustered copses wildly intertwined" 灌莽 (杳而無際),叢薄 (紛其相依). This antithetical couplet can be either chanted or recited:

a) chanted: 灌莽啊杳然無際

Dense vegetation Ah darkly stretches without end;

叢薄啊紛然相依

Clustered thickets Ah! So wildly intertwined.

b) spoken: 叢林靜的沒邊兒,雜草亂得沒縫

The overgrown forest is so quiet, seemingly without end; the clustered thicket has grown wild without crack or crevice.

However, (a) is a type of prosaic, not poetic chanting. The ingenuity here lies in the use of er 而 and zhi 之: the prosody of these lines is 2+2+2, but the two syllables in the middle (杳而〉紛其) are not an equally weighted 1+1, because er 而 and zhi 之 are weaker than content words. The prosodic structure of "杳而〉紛其" is by necessity stressed followed by unstressed (or long followed by short), changing the original 2+2+2 pattern and giving it a more scattered feel. This forms a stark contrast with the 2+2 poetic prosody of the preceding twenty-two lines. The reason we call four-six prose "prose" is precisely because six-syllable lines carry the natural structure of prosaic rhythm. Though their internal organization can be highly varied, none of the various internal configurations are formed by the *liang jie hanglü* 兩節行律 (two units per line) rule found in poetry. The "*ji ji*" 既已 and "*you ji*" 又已 in the next two lines can also be analyzed in this way.

In short, the transition from symmetrical to mixed prosody should be understood as a transition from poetry to normal spoken language (or from poetic to prosaic prosody). This is because prose or "prosaic prosody" is based on the irregular features of prosody in everyday speech. In fact, literature, and especially poetry, would not have its vigorous and aesthetic effect without the art of combining poetic with prosaic prosody. Therefore, the second to last couplet: "Looking straight ahead for a thousand miles and beyond, one only sees rising yellow dust" 直視千裹外,唯見起黄埃 directly adopts the five-syllable form.

Of course, rhapsody (*fu*) can use five- or seven-syllable lines. Pull out any of the five-syllable lines from within the rhapsody, and they will form a poem when put together, assuming they have the same rhythm. However, five- and seven-syllable lines generally have dual poetic and prosaic functions when mixed in parallel with four-six lines. The reason for this is clear: parallel prose uses "prose" that is made of "poetry." It is a product of "poetry" within "prose" and because of this, in parallel prose, lines of prose and lines of poetry are combined to create literary art.

The Prosodic Lexicon and Prosodic Particles

In addition to understanding prosody's structure, functionality, and effect, we have to pay special attention to the prosodic structure of different poetic forms, to the prosodic quality of words and expressions. The following issues should be taken into account before we can differentiate between poetic and prosaic prosody:

- a) The prosodic properties of function words
- b) The prosodic structure of different poetic forms, such as those found in the *Shijing*, including three-, five-, and seven-syllable lines
- c) The prosodic expression of function words within a given poetic register

These three factors are sometimes intertwined and difficult to differentiate from one another. First of all, function words are not usually stressed (or are not given prominence), and they are expressed differently in different types of poetic styles (or prosodic environments). For example, these two instances of $zhi \nearrow z$ are clearly not the same:

a) A pair of turtle doves are cooing by the riverside. 關關雎鳩,在河之洲³⁴b) A Prince am I of Ancestry renowned, 帝高陽之苗裔兮 Illustrious Name my royal Sire hath found.³⁵ 朕皇考曰伯庸

The zhi 之 in the verse from the Shijing takes the position of a lexical word because the Shijing uses dipodic prosody. Without zhi 之 here, the verse falls short of filling out two beats. The second couplet is from "Li sao" 離騷 (Encountering Sorrow). Its use of zhi 之 is different. Prosody for "a Prince am I of Ancestry renowned" 帝高陽之苗裔 can be compared to that of "in the stately carriages drawn by horses, we make our way ahead" 儼驂騑於上路 from the Wang Bo lines we discussed earlier. It can be analyzed as two jie (feet). The zhi 之 and yu 於 that appear in these lines are pause fillers ($jian\ paici$) (as such, they do not count). (The "Li sao" makes use of caesura-based prosody and is thus closer

to the vernacular, while the *Shijing* uses a fixed four-syllable prosody that is comparatively more formal.)

Now that we understand the prosodic principle explained above, we can do more than merely depend on the superficial appearance of words when calculating prosody. Any concrete analysis should be based on data from a definite historical period, a definite work of literature, as well as a definite prosodic structure. There are two other crucial aspects here: the relationship between number of syllables and number of beats; and the substitution between unstressed functional words and stressed content words.

The Difference between Number of Syllables and Number of Beats
Functional words do not count as beats, but they can smooth the tone of voice
and ease communication. For example,

a) Sunlight flies alongside the lonely wild duck. 落

落霞與孤鶩齊飛

b) The sunlight shoots through the rosy clouds as the autumn water merges with the boundless sky into a single hue.

秋水共長天一色

The seven-syllable line above has three beats. The yu 與 and gong 共 in this couplet are functional words. They are pause-beat words used to fill in intermittent gaps to make the reading unhindered, smooth, and level, thereby demonstrating the "tone of voice" effect of function words. Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (1869–1936) wrote, "From Warring States up to the Qin dynasty, [writing] became more and more rigid. In every piece of writing, there were very few function words and sentences became very choppy" 從戰國到秦代,剛性更加厲害,每篇文章都是虛字少而語句斬截.³⁶ Sentences without function words come across as choppy. In contrast, those with ample function words are fluid and smooth, clearly showing their effect on a sentence. This is why Ouyang Xiu 歐陽 (1007–1072) was dissatisfied and quickly reverted to the sentence "Having taken office and then I advanced to the position of prime minister / Having become rich and prosperous, I then returned home" 仕宦而至將相,富貴而歸故鄉,deciding not to change it to "An official, I advanced to the position of prime minister / Rich and prosperous, I returned back home" 仕宦至將相,富貴歸故鄉.

Writing during the Song dynasty \Re (960–1279) favored softness, so it was fluent and free. This is precisely due to the use of function words. There are many similar cases. In each one, it can be seen that whether between-beat words appear in poetry or prose depends on what level of smoothness is required at any given place within a piece of writing. The idea of "using prosaic diction to write poetry," popular during the Song dynasty, was realized by way of inserting

function words when necessary. In the same way, "adding function words to prose" was a way of using prosody to realize a certain (spoken language) tone of voice. The literary functionality of function words has most likely been an important issue throughout classical literary criticism.³⁸

Note that function words are able to change the tone of voice because many function words are actually mood particles. Proto-Chinese did not have sentence-final particles in the same way that it did not require two-syllable feet. The appearance and development of these two, sentence-final particles and the requirement for two-syllable feet, directly influenced the form and expression of Chinese literature. Exploring the corresponding relationships between styles of expression within spoken language, written language, and literature is an important topic of research for the fields of linguistics and literary studies. Once these relationships are understood, many issues within linguistics and literature can be explained. For example, take the last sentence of the first stanza in "Wucheng fu":

as three dynasties have come and gone, 出入 | 三代 And over five hundred years have passed, 五百 | 余載 It has been carved like a melon, split like beans. 竟 | 瓜剖(而)豆分

The first two four-syllable lines have neat and tidy (i.e., *qizheng* 齊整 [regular]) prosody. Each syllable occupies a single position (within the beat). Though yu 余 (more, over) is a function word, it still has to take the position of a full syllable. However, the last line, "It has been carved like a melon, split like beans" 瓜 剖而豆分 is different, as its "er" 而 is used between two beats and yet is not a placeholder. If the linguistic context above were to take the following form:

then "er" 而 would become a placeholder. Think about the fact that every rhythmic position of "瓜剖 | 豆分" already has "no vacancies" (2+2). Why is it necessary to add "er" 而 in order to increase the space (hiatus) between beats? Without a doubt, this is an example of a function word having the effect of relaxing the lips, evening out the tone of voice and of smoothing over puckered lips, making it more speechlike.

Light Functional Words Replaced by Heavy Content Words

There is yet another related phenomenon of the prosodic grammar of poetry that up to now has not received enough research attention, namely, the use of content words to replace light verbs (such as *shi* 使 [to make], *rang* 讓 [to let, to allow], *nong* 弄 [to do], *da* 打 [literally, to hit, but in Mandarin, this verb is used for a very broad range of meanings], and *gao* 搞 [to do], etc.) as a means of syntactic movement. For example:

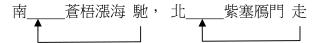
- a) 春風又讓_(輕)江南岸綠了→春風又<u>綠(</u>重)江南岸
 Spring wind again made _(light) the Jiangnan bank greener
 → Spring Wind **green-ens** _(Heavy) the Jiangnan bank
- b) 江東父老以_{(輕}我為王 → 縱江東父老<u>王(重)</u>我 Jiangdong People consider _(light) me to be a king → Jiangdong People **king** _(Heavy) me

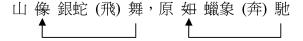
As mentioned above, an effect of increasing the number of functional words used is to make writing more like spoken expression and to enhance fluency. Literary means of expression have their positives and negatives. The opposite of augmenting the traits of spoken expression is "dampening the traits of spoken language." This is done by placing content words (verbs, nouns, and adjectives) in a functional-word position. In the example above a light verb like "do" or "make," uses the "replacement of a light verb with a content word" method to distance a written sentence from the modality of spoken language as a way to manifest energetic (jinjian 勁健) and literary meaning-fulness (juanyong 雋永). Both (a) and (b) are perfect examples of moving content verbs into the position of functional words (light verbs), thereby creating a poetic effect.

Compare the prose statement from the beginning of "Wucheng fu": "Southward galloping ... / Northward racing ..." 南馳蒼梧漲海,北走紫塞鴈門. When speaking, one needs to use light verbs such as ru 如 (like, as) and xiang 像 (to be similar, resemble) as in "Southward it is as if ... / Northward it is as if ..." 南邊像/有蒼梧漲海在奔馳,北像/有紫塞鴈門在奔跑. However, the author substitutes stressed lexical words for unstressed light verbs through syntactic operation in order to realize poetic diction (shijiayu) in depicting the artistic qualities of bold and magnificent landscapes. Compare the lines from "Wucheng fu" with an example from one of Mao Zedong's 毛澤東 (1893—1976) poems:

南邊像/有蒼梧漲海在奔馳,北邊像/有紫塞鴈門在奔跑

Southward galloping to the Green Kola and the Swollen Sea





Mountains dance like silver snake 山舞銀蛇, Fields run like a waxed elephant 原馳蠟象。³⁹

The two methods discussed in these subsections are simultaneously mutually opposing and complementary. One adds functional words, and the other removes them. One adds the traits of spoken language, and the other eliminates them. Both are syntactic operations, and they both have important literary effects.

Poetic Grammar and Spatiotemporal Freedom

Linguistic analysis of poetic diction (*shijiayu*) has opened a new avenue of literary research. First, there are the questions of how many different types of poetic diction there are, how they interact with syntax, and so forth. There are also many other new questions for future research, but for the time being, we will focus on spatiotemporal markers and how they function in poetry as opposed to how they are used in normal speech. It will be seen that spoken language makes heavy use of spatiotemporal expressions, while poetic language reduces or even eliminates them altogether. The latter case can be described as having spatiotemporal-free attributes. Let us look at the following examples first.

- a) *張三吃飯。 Zhang-San eats
- b) 張三在家吃飯 Zhang-San eats at home.
- c) 張三在吃飯 Zhang-San is eating.
- d) 張三吃著飯呢 Zhang-San is eating.
- e) 張三吃了兩碗飯 Zhang-San has eaten two bowls of rice.

In Mandarin, normal sentences must contain spatiotemporal elements or they are not grammatical (i.e., not acceptable). In (a), even though the subject, verb, and object are all there, the sentence is not acceptable (i.e., not grammatical). Sentence (b) is the same as (a) except for the addition of a locative preposition, indicating the location of the action "eat food." Contemporary linguistics tells us that spatiotemporal expression (or marking) is vital for

making well-formed sentences. Spatiotemporal characteristics manifest themselves differently in different languages. English makes use of verb tense (past tense and present tense, etc.), while Chinese realizes this by way of syntactic devices such as the use of prepositions ("at home") and adverbs ("in the process of") or making the object more specific ("two bowls"). Simply put, the verb's spatiotemporal expression must appear in concrete form for a sentence to be grammatical. This is the syntactical function of concrete spatiotemporal markers.

It is not necessary, however, for poetic language to meet these requirements. Not only does poetry not require concrete spatiotemporal markers, in most cases it does away with them altogether. What does it mean to do away with spatiotemporal markers? Compare the following two pairs of sentences:

- a) 京師大學將對考試制度進行改革*了。 The Imperial University of Peking is going to reform its examination system.
- b) 京師大學將對考試制度進行改革。 The Imperial University of Peking is going to reform its examination system.
- c) 金磚五*個國會談在京舉行 BRICS will discuss holding their meeting in the capital.
- d) 金磚五國會談在京舉行 BRICS will discuss holding their meeting in the capital.

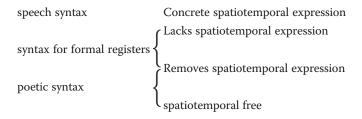
The particle $le \ \ \ \$ (change of state) in (a) and the classifier $ge \ \ \$ (classifier for nouns used in colloquial speech) in (c) disappear in the more official (or formal) registers represented by the examples in (b) and (d). Otherwise, sentences may become ungrammatical (i.e., unacceptable in informal registers). In other words, doing away with spatiotemporal marking is a type of syntactic device that involves removing markers of spatiotemporal expression within verb or noun phrases. The following example sentences make this point more clear.

- a) *孫悟空掏金箍棒。 The Monkey King pulls out a golden-cudgel.
- b) 孫悟空<u>從耳朵眼兒裏</u>摳<u>出一根</u>金箍棒。 The Monkey King pulled a golden cudgel out of his ear.

Sentence (a) has a bare verb and a bare object, but no spatiotemporal specification, so it is ungrammatical in natural speech. The verb in (b) involves a concrete action (to dig with the finger) at a specific location (the ear). Additionally, the object has a concrete number (one). These elements (manner,

instrument, place, time, etc.) make the spatiotemporal expression prominent and thereby ensure the sentence's grammaticality.

What does this have to do with poetry? Removing of function words in poetry is exactly equivalent to doing away with spatiotemporal expression in formal registers (as in examples b and d above). This can be illustrated as follows:



The farther removed poetic imagery is from reality, the higher its degree of artistry and the more room it gives for the imagination—this is the syntactic effect of doing away with spatiotemporal expression, which has been observed in previous studies (see, among others, Kearns 1980; Abrams 1953; Fenollosa and Pound 2008; and Yip 2003, 2006). This helps us realize a crucial element for creating poetry: spatiotemporal-free syntax. Take a look at these excerpts from poems by Ma Zhiyuan 馬致遠 (1250–1321) and Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠 (812–870):

Dry vine, old tree, crows at dusk, 枯藤,老樹,昏鴉。 Ancient road, west wind, lean nag. 古道,西風,瘦馬。⁴⁰ Cock crow, thatched inn, the moon, Human trace, wood bridge, frost. 人迹板橋霜。⁴¹

What syntactic principles give these well-known ancient phrases their beauty? Just saying that it is due to the characteristics of Chinese or that it is because nouns can act as predicates is a very weak explanation that does not get to the heart of the matter. The subtlety of these phrases comes from their spatiotemporal-free syntax, as proposed in an earlier work. What is spatiotemporal-free syntax? First consider what Lu Jianming says in his course outline for Research on Modern Chinese Syntax: In Mandarin, you can often see and hear this type of sentence—namely, a sentence made up of a string of nouns." For instance:

今天下午全校大會

Every afternoon, (the) entire school (gathers for a) big meeting.

Actually, the syntax for this string of nouns is the same as what we find in the excerpts above from Ma Zhiyuan and Wen Tingyun. As Lu points out, the sentence above can be understood as any of the following:

今天下午有全校大會。

This afternoon, there is a big meeting for the entire school.

今天下午是全校大會。

The big meeting for the entire school is this afternoon.

今天下午開全校大會

This afternoon, a big meeting for the entire school is held.

今天下午召開全校大會

This afternoon, a big meeting for the entire school is convened.

今天下午舉行有全校大會

This afternoon, a big meeting for the entire school is conducted.

Lu continues: "Take the three lines by Ma Zhiyuan for example. Though they are referred to as three lines, in reality, each noun can be viewed as a small sentence. Within these three lines, there are nine nouns and each noun portrays a scene, for a total of nine scenes." According to what he is saying here, the next line:

Dry vine, old tree, crows at dusk, 枯藤, 老樹, 昏鴉。

might mean any of the following:

有枯藤, 有老樹, 有昏鴉

There is a dry vine, there is an old tree and there is a dark crow.

是枯藤, 是老樹, 是昏鴉

This dry vine, that old tree, that dark crow.

看見枯藤, 看見老樹, 看見昏鴉

[I] saw dry vines, [I] saw old trees, and [I] also saw dark crows.

This is the function of spatiotemporal-free syntax. The three nouns—*dry vine, old tree, dark crow*—have no trace of any spatiotemporal relation between them. This is poetic syntax, the device by which poetry is created. It delivers images to the reader, not concepts or events. It consists of images or concrete images (i.e., singular images) appearing one by one within the imagination, in a manner free of spatiotemporal relationships. How these images are arranged within the author's mind (as the complete or original images) is not important. What is important is that readers can imagine these things in their own minds and create their own temporal-spatial relationships between the different images. Therefore,

as to whether the above lines mean, "There is a dry vine. There is an old tree. There is a dark crow," or "This dry vine. This old tree. This dark crow," or "[I] saw dry wines, [I] saw old trees and [I] also saw dark crows" is not relevant. It is sufficient that readers believe they can create spatiotemporal relations for these things on their own. Hence the traditional saying: "There is no single, universally accepted interpretation for any given poem" 詩無達詰.

We have established that the syntax used in poetry can be spatiotemporal-free syntax. The devices that produce spatiotemporal-free syntax in parallel prose appeared much earlier than Ma Zhiyuan, as is apparent from these lines from "Wucheng fu":⁴⁵

- a) 孤獨的蓬蒿自己飛起, 驚起的砂石到處亂飛
- b) (野風)把蓬蒿由叢蒿中孤離出來使得它騰空而 起,把砂石驚起使得它們無故亂飛

As the colloquial paraphrases (a) and (b) demonstrate, the third line of this excerpt, "jing sha zuo fei 驚砂坐飛" could be interpreted as "the frightened sand," or as "sand got startled." But in the original poetic line, no words express the spatiotemporal relationship between *scare* and *sand*. This is an artistic device used in poetic language.

Syntax is the structure of words, a relationship between words. Omitting the functors (words) that express these relationships is tantamount to not having syntax. Of course, without syntax, the nature of the relationship between *scare* and *sand* is unknown. That which is required by the art of parallel prose is exactly this type of syntax, which arises from an absence of syntax. Only in this manner can the special effect created by poetry be achieved.

Where is the aesthetic in literary appreciation? The aesthetic is found in the artistry, imagination, and reappearance or reconstruction of spatiotemporal relationships. It is found in the re-creation of images, the reinterpretation of syntax, and the reestablishment of relationships between words. Literature forces the reader to establish a syntax grounded in one's life experience based upon one's personal experience of creative ideas. Here, because understanding is actually reconstruction, different people will enjoy poetry differently. Not only is it expected: the fact that any given poem will be interpreted in various ways is a necessary conclusion. This is what constitutes the aesthetics of poetry.

As such, the characteristics of spatiotemporal-free syntax can be summarized as follows:

Spatiotemporal-free syntax for poetry

- a. Uses function words not for spatiotemporal expression, but only for purposes of prosody.
- b. Omits function words that syntactically express the relationships between words.
- c. Utilizes synthetic syntactic devices (e.g., head movement) to transform analytical sentences into sentences with poetic diction.
- d. Leaves the spatiotemporal features of objects and events unspecified.

The excerpts below illustrate these by way of example. Note that the use of xi 兮 (a mood particle) in the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu), from which these examples are taken, is as a prosodic marker that sometimes replaces spatiotemporal markers (function words such as qi 其, er 而, zhi 之, and fu 夫, as seen below).

The gods from the mountain high will be welcomed together. The gods from the mountain high, their being welcomed together.	九嶷繽 <u>兮</u> 並迎。 ⁴⁷ 九嶷繽 <u>其</u> 並迎。 ⁴⁸
With clouds as pennons trailing far behind. The pennons shook like serpents in the wind.	載云旗 <u>兮</u> 委蛇。 ⁴⁹ 載云旗 <u>之</u> 委蛇。 ⁵⁰
And sailing steer my course the lake beside. The pillar of the Earth I stayed beside.	邅吾道 <u>兮</u> 洞庭。 ⁵¹ 邅吾道 <u>夫</u> 昆侖。 ⁵²
Eastwards, alone, the path before me is a deep darkness. Spread their good influence to the sky.	杳冥冥 <u>兮</u> 东行。 ⁵³ 瞭冥冥 <u>而</u> 薄天。 ⁵⁴
My Love awaiting, cassia twigs I weave. Idly my orchids into wreaths I bent.	結桂枝 <u>兮</u> 延佇。 ⁵⁵ 結幽蘭 <u>而</u> 延佇。 ⁵⁶

In the sentences below, the function word $qi \not\equiv$ can be seen as a spatiotemporal-free marker and not as a spatiotemporal marker (its function varies as indicated to the left of the example).

(a)	其=之: Since in my heart fragrance was truly prized,	苟余情其信芳、
	A thousand chariots gathered in my train.	屯余車其千乘。
(b)	其=然: The gods from the mountain high, their being	九嶷繽其並迎。

welcomed together.

(c) 其=而: This gaudy age so fickle proved its will. 時繽紛其變導兮 (其一作以,以=而)
(d) 其=也: I'd not regret a thousand deaths to die. 雖九死其猶未悔。
(e) 其=擬議之詞: As old age unrelenting hurried near. 老冉冉其將至兮。
(f) 其=足句: The reason for their fall, not far to seek. 豈其有他故兮。
(g) 其=間句: In swift succession, spring and autumn. 春與秋其代序。⁵⁷

That which is free of syntax is not syntax, because the elements that mark syntax have been removed. On the other hand, it is still a form of syntax. (If you take away what "does exist," you end up with what "does not exist," and the "does not exist" that we end up with implies the previous "does exist.") Spatiotemporal-free syntax uses what the author leaves out (i.e., that which does not exist; what linguists call the "zero form") in order to call up that which the reader contributes (i.e., that which does exist), and herein lies the poem's aesthetic. What spatiotemporal-free syntax delivers to the reader is the opportunity to construct a sort of personally created aesthetic formed under the inspiration of the poet, according to the reader's own innate syntax and previous personal experience.

With all this in mind, let's go back and taste the aesthetic found in "Wucheng fu" and other parallel prose. In the following excerpts, for example, the different possible ways to paraphrase the lines demonstrate the degree to which the spatiotemporal relations within the lines are unspecified:

"Rammed earth walls and parapets, grandly constructed, Well-curbed lookouts and beacon towers, meticulously crafted" 板築雉堞之殷,井干烽橹之勤.⁵⁸

a. 主謂: Rammed wall-like parapets grandly 像版築一樣的雉堞,非常多; constructed.

Well-curbed beacon-towers meticulously 像井干一樣的烽橹,非常頻繁; crafted;

b. 偏正: The grandness of rammed wall-like 版築般雉堞的盛多; parapets,

The density of well-curbed beacontowers: 井干般烽橹的頻繁;

"The towering Five Sacred Mountains. Their ground-level surface area is as long and broad as three river basins" 格高五岳,袤廣三墳. 59

a. Height like the Five Sacred Mountains, 格如五岳高, their ground-level surface area is three river basins 麦若三墳廣; broad;

b. Height taller than the Five Sacred Mountains, 格高于五岳, ground-level surface area longer and broader than 表廣于三墳; three river basins;

"A formation of wild geese are startled by the bitter cold; the sound stops at Hengyang city's water's edge" 雁陣驚寒,声斷衡陽之浦.⁶⁰

- a. A group of swans flying in the cold wind cry 成隊的鴻雁在寒風裡驚叫; out in fear.
- b. Startled by the cold wind, the swans line up 被寒風驚起的鴻雁列隊而行; into formation and go on their way.

Readers, according to their own life experience, by way of the spatiotemporal-free expression in each of the examples above, can create within their imagination a fuller and richer, personally created aesthetic. From this, it can be seen how the artistry within parallel prose is synthesized: it has the beauty of poetic prosody and that of prosaic prosody as well as the combined aesthetic of mixing the two together. It also has another kind of beauty that is produced by the mutual repulsion and attraction between poetry and everyday speech. It has beauty in its cadence and in its power to move people emotionally. Beyond all that, there is the magnificent breadth and exuberance of its spatiotemporal imagination. The surprising variation found within parallel prose allows it to attain the polyphonic richness of a symphony.



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Notes

- 1. Liu S., Lunwen zaji, 256-57.
- 2. Regarding the boundaries between categories that have developed within the Chinese language, please consult Feng, "Lun Hanyu yunlü." For more information on the corresponding developments in literature, please see Feng, "Lun san yinjie yinbu," 37.

- 3. In Liu S., Zhongguo zhonggu wenxueshi jiangyi, 134.
- That is the job of modern syntacticians.
- 5. Liu X., The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons, 475.
- 6. Ibid., 481.
- 7. Feng, "Prosodic Structure."
- 8. Lo, "Lun liuyanshi yu pianwen."
- 9. Ibid., 17
- 10. For poetry, two units per line is the optimal structure. See Feng, "Prosodic Explanation."
- 11. Except when it is written in a manner similar to *zidishu* 子弟書 (a type of group singing accompanied by drums) which appeared later. In *zidishu*, seven-syllable lines have a feel similar to *ci* and *qu* poetry. However, because this effect is due to the use of spoken particles and phraseology, it is necessarily distinct from the poetic style of five- and seven-syllable *shi* prosody. See Cai, "Xiaoling cipai he jiezou."
- 12. Translated by Henson and Feng.
- 13. Peng, Quan Tang shi, 3423.
- 14. Written by Wei Yuandan 韋元旦 (fl. eighth century), taken from Huang F., *Liuyan Tangshi huapu*, 8. Translation from Malmqvist, "Lüe tan Tangdai tongsu," 38.
- 15. Translation from ibid., 35.
- 16. "Jiang nan" 江南 (South of the River) by Wang Jian 王建 (767–830). See Peng, *Quan Tang shi*, 3423.
- 17. Translation by Henson and Feng.
- 18. Liu Z., Liu Zongyuan ji, 489.
- 19. In Hong, Liu Shipei jingdian wencun, 256.
- 20. See Huang, Li, and Simpson, *Handbook of Chinese Linguistics*, 537–75.
- 21. Duan, "Gu si sheng shuo" 古四聲說 (On Archaic Four Tones, in Shuowen jiezi zhu, 815.
- 22. Qi, *Qi Gong quanji*, 1:70. Qi Gong's purpose here is to reveal the relationship between rhythmic structure and word arrangement in parallel prose and verse of classical Chinese and is not merely limited to the preface "Teng Wang Ge Xu" by Wang Bo. We thank the anonymous reviewer for bringing this to our attention.
- 23. The translations are from Luo, Guwen guanzhi jingxuan, 39-40.
- 24. Taken from ibid., 38.
- 25. See Feng, "Hanyu shige yanjiu."
- 26. Translation taken from Knechtges, Rhapsodies on Sacrifices, 253-57.
- 27. The original text cited here is taken from Xiao, Wen xuan, 166-68.
- 28. "The essential element in all music is repetition." See Arp and Johnson, *Perrine's Sound and Sense*, 179.
- 29. Liu S., Zhongguo zhonggu wenxueshi jiangyi, 135.
- 30. Ibid
- 31. *"Shijiayu"* 詩家語 syntax originates with Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021—1086). In Wei Q., *Shiren yuxie*, 196–97.
- 32. "Ai lian shuo" 愛蓮說 (The Theory of Lotus Love) by Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1011–1073). See Zhou D., *Zhou Dunyi ji*, 51. Translated by Xu Jingcheng (Peter Cooper Xu). http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_49f5af5901012p9p.html (accessed March 2015).
- 33. See Feng, "Lun yunlü wentixue."
- 34. Xu Y., Shijing, 3. Translated by Henson and Feng.
- 35. "Li sao" 離騷 (Encountering Sorrow), in Qu, Chuci xuan, 3.
- 36. In Zhang T., Zhang Taiyan guoxue jiangyan, 44.

- 37. Ouyang, Ouyang Yongshu ji, 44.
- 38. Liu S., in *Zhongguo zhongguu wenxueshi jiangyi* says, "[People of the Han dynasty] were able to make connections between sentences and paragraphs without overt connectors [yingzhuan zhijie 硬轉直接] effortlessly... which cannot be done by later generations without using functional connectors (such as ji'er 既而 [thereafter] and ranhou 然後 [and then] for introducing a later event, and ruofu 若夫 for introducing a new paragraph, and so on)." (漢人)能硬轉直接,毫不著力 使後人為之,不用虛字則不能轉折 (如事之較後者必用「既而」、「然後」,另起一段者必用「若夫」之類). Liu S., Zhongguo zhonggu wenxueshi jiangyi, 130. This is another example of the qianqi neizhuan 潛氣內轉 (covert connector) effect of function words.
- 39. Mao Zedong's 毛澤東 (1893–1976) "Qin yuan chun xue" 沁園春·雪 (Seeping Garden Spring · Snow). Translated by Henson. See also Xu Y., *Illustrated Poems*, 56. These lines are translated by Xu Yuanchong as "Mountains like silver serpents dancing, Highlands like waxy elephants advancing."
- 40. Wen, Shici yingyi xuan, 49.
- 41. Xu, Three Hundred Yuan Songs, 135.
- 42. See Feng, "Hanyu shige yanjiu zhong."
- 43. Lu, Xiandai hanyu yufa, 7.
- 44. Ibid., 7-8.
- 45. See also Feng, "Lisao de yunlü gongxian."
- 46. Ibid
- 47. "Xiangfuren" 湘夫人 (The Lady of the Xiang River). In Qu, Chuci xuan, 45.
- 48. "Lisao" 離騒 (Encountering Sorrow). Ibid., 24.
- 49. "Dongjun" 東君 (The God of the Sun). Ibid., 54.
- 50. "Lisao." Ibid., 30.
- 51. "Xiangjun" 湘君 (The Goddess of the Xiang River). Ibid., 38.
- 52. "Lisao." Ibid., 30.
- 53. "Dongjun." Ibid., 56.
- 54. "Ai ying" 哀郢 (Leaving the Capital). Ibid., 86.
- 55. "Da siming" 大司命 (The Great Fate). Ibid., 48.
- 56. "Lisao." Ibid., 18.
- 57. "Lisao." Ibid., a. 10, 30; b. 24; c. 26; d. 8; e. 6; f. 26; g. 2.
- 58. The original source is Xiao, Wen xuan, 167. Translated by Henson and Feng.
- 59. "Wucheng Fu," in ibid., 167.
- 60. "Tengwangge xu" (Preface to the Prince of Tang's Pavillion) in Luo, *Guwen guanzhi jingxuan*, 39.

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